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Chapter II.

The languages of southern Costa Rica.

Section I.—The Bri-bri language.

In the following notes, I have endeavored to embody such ideas and conclusions as I have arrived at while studying the language and compiling the vocabulary. From the difficulty of obtaining information from ignorant people, and from my own, by no means perfect knowledge of the language, possibly errors may have crept in, but while I do not think any important ones will be found, I do not venture to claim infallible accuracy. For a year I labored to find some rule for conjugation, and was obliged, as it were, to educate my informers up to the point of being able to give me information about a subject they had never thought of, and could see no use for. Not content to accept their statements categorically, I watched carefully the use of the verbs in their inflexions, and by dint of cross-questioning a number of people, and rejecting everything that was contradictory, I think the few verbs I have selected are correctly given. I have had the advantage not only of a year and a half in the country, in daily contact with a fellow-countryman who spoke the language fluently, enabling me thereby to learn it; but for two months, in the meantime, while absent, I had several intelligent Indians with me who understood Spanish, and finally, after returning to civilization, I had with me for eight months a native, with whom I talked habitually in his own language, and from whom I obtained many corrections of the errors that a stranger must necessarily make. This boy became an apt teacher and voluntarily set me right whenever he heard me use an incorrect expression. 124

Counting the few abstract words which have doubtless escaped me, and all the specific names of animals and plants, and many of the latter are made up of an adjective, or the name of some plant, combined with *suk* (tribe), I do not think the language can contain two thousand words, and perhaps not fifteen hundred. In preparing the vocabulary I have rejected most of these specific names, because there is no corresponding English word, and a complete natural history collection, carefully studied by competent students, would be required, so as to obtain an equivalent. Even then it would have been useless, because the names vary locally as much as similar words do in English. 192 128

In compound words, I have in most cases pointed out the roots, and separated the component parts by a |- sign. Although so much detail may have been unnecessary, the study was interesting to myself, and some of the curious results may also interest others.

There can be no doubt but that this and its allied dialects, like all unwritten languages, are undergoing great changes. The language spoken in Terralm was formerly, and probably not long ago, the same as that of Tiribi. There are marked differences between the Cabecar of Coen and that of the Estrella or North River, and even local differences in the use of *r*, *l*, and *d*, can be observed between the half of the Bri-bri 197

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197 tribe living on the Urea, and the others scattered over the rest of the country. In different districts "a little," *wi-ri-wi'-ri* is also pronounced *bi-ri-bi'-ri* and *wi-di-wi'-di*, and many other words especially those with *r* or *d* before a vowel, vary fully as much. As has been justly observed by Max Müller, laziness often helps this. The present name for rain *kon'-ni* for instance, is clearly derived from *koñ'-li*. In fact the proof exists in the form of the word for dust *koñ'-mo-li*. But *kon'-ni* is easier to pronounce than *koñ'-li*, and has taken its place.

196 It would be an interesting study to trace out the ideas which have influenced the formation of compound words. In Bri-bri, a hill is *koñ'-bi-ta*, the point of the country; in Cabecar it is *koñ'-tsu'*, the breast of the country, from *tsu*, a woman's breast. Again in Bri-bri a sharp knife is said to be *a-ka'-ta*, toothed (that it may bite, or cut), the beak of a bird is called its tooth; and the same root (*kwe*) is used for a finger-nail, a fish-scale, a bird's feathers, the bark of a tree, or the rind of a fruit.

Some few words are used in such varied connections that they warrant special notice. Among these are *we*, *koñ*, *i-ta*, *kin*, &c. *Koñ* is a part of nearly all words relating to the earth, the sky, the atmosphere, in short the general surroundings. It means the country, the day, the weather. In composition it forms part of the word for a hill, valley, &c. *We* means originally round, either circular or globular. It is also applied to almost all masses or lumps; it further forms a component of words having a reference to entirety or completeness; thus alone, it means the human face, in compounds it forms a part of the names of the sun and moon, of many parts of the human body, of a drop of water, of a knot, of fruits, seeds, &c; and of verbs, such as to make, to close, to open, to extinguish, to tie, &c.; *i-ta'* means originally to chop, but is applied to shooting, striking with intention of wounding (in contradistinction to *i-pa'* to whip). It also forms part of the verbs to shut, to extinguish, to lie (or throw one's self) down, and, in the latter sense is also used for to pour (to *throw* out of a vessel). *Kin* means a region, or district, and is always used in connection with some qualifying word; thus *Lari-kin*, the country or region of Lari; *dō-je'-kin* the salt region or sea; *tsang'-kin* the sand region, or beach; but *aye-re'-kin* means in or on the road, and *bō-ta'-kin* on top (of a hill or mountain). *Ki-cha'* means originally a string; derivatively a vine to tie with is *tsa' ki-cha*, or a string vine. Veins and tendons are called by the same word on account of their resemblance to strings, while the joints of the limbs are called *ki-cha'-we* or the lump of strings. *Pa* and *pe*, mean people; the former combined with the 3d person, singular, personal pronoun *ye*, makes *ye-pe*, the 3d person, plural. It is also used combined with *wak*, tribe; thus, *Lari-wak*, means the people of Lari; as *wak-i-pa*, our people; in this case used probably as much for clearness as anything else, since *tsa-wak*, ("*vine-tribe*") means ants! *Ha-wak-i-pa*, your people. *Pa*, used alone means somebody; whose is it? "*pe cha*;" "somebody's," *cha* being the sign of possession.

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(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kusuke be ke mokkur* 193
we fuwo? why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wochika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na*. *Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'tso?* how thou (*ei-se'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'tso boi*. Where did you come from? *wesh be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with——? *ji re ——ta?* who went—— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphehen*. This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kinbeku ye micho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is——? *wesh*——? He has gone ahead; *ye 'i-kutke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be se-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into.

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a com- 197 ●
paratively late emigration from the region of the Tiribis, and although [1874]
the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *s*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *s* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *ss* or *so*.

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

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197 bri also, while the latter, as the conquerors, despise the Cabecars and never attempt to learn their language. The Cabecars of Estrella rarely speak Bri-bri, but nearly all understand it, as well as Spanish and some speak English, and words of both these latter languages are gradually being adopted. The Tiribis are too isolated to acquire many foreign words; but their near relatives the half-civilized people of Terraba as well as the neighbors of these latter, the Borucas, are rapidly acquiring Spanish at the expense of the corresponding words of their own language. In a party of five Borucas, there was not one who could count except in Spanish; and one of my Terraba friends could remember no word for girl, except *muchacha* (Spanish), until I suggested (supported by analogy) the word *wa-rə'* (woman), when he remembered that he had heard some of the old people use *wa-wa-rə'*! In like manner, he persisted in giving me the Spanish, "*lucero*" for star, besides many other words.

Many roots run through the entire group of languages unchanged, or with changes so trifling that they are not worthy of note. Again sometimes the root varies while the ruling idea is the same. An illustration of this last case is the following: In Bri-bri, to forget is *kĕn-i-cho*; to remember is *ke kĕn-i-cho*, from *ke* not, *kĕn* the liver, and *i-cho* to lose. To think is also *Kĕn be-ku* (probably from *be kot-ke*, ready). Liver in Tiribi is *wi*, in Terraba *wo*, and in Cabecar *her*; while to think is, in Tiribi *we tsitsung*, in Terraba *woi-du*, and in Cabecar *her-wik*. The acts of thought, memory, &c., have been attributed to the liver, with about as good reason as we yet place the seat of sentiment in the heart.

In Bri-bri, to lie down is *tu ti*, to throw down; imperative *me* (yourself) *tu ti*. In Terraba *tush ke* (down) is used in the same manner; *ju tush ke*, then sit down, and *ju bu tush-ke*, lie down (*bu*) long.

Changes of roots are illustrated by the following. In Bri-bri, *ki-puk'* is to sleep, and a hammock is *ki-pu'*. In Cabecar a bed is *ki-pu'-gru*, in Tiribi and Terraba it is *bu'-kru*; and in Brunka *kup* is to sleep.

In Brunka a ghost is *i-wik*, and a shadow is *ku-wik'*, and a devil or evil spirit is *kag'-bru*. In Bri-bri, a ghost, or spirit of a dead person is *wig'-bru*. In Cabecar, a shadow is *wig'-ru*, while in Tiribi it is *yu'-gro*, and in Bri-bri, *si-ri-u'-gur*, thus connecting the word in Bri-bri for ghost, or departed spirit, with that for shadow by means of the allied idioms, although without the intermediate changes of the root, it would not have been demonstrable.

It is evident that the Cabecar *wag-ŏ'*, straight, and the Bri-bri *wau'-ki*, true, are identical. Although the Bri-bri word *si'-gua*, foreigner, has been replaced in the other languages, by other words, it remains in the Terraba, as a compound, in the name of the banana, *bin-sigua*, evidently "foreign plaintain," from *bing*, a plaintain; because it may have been introduced at a later date than the larger fruit, and when the word *sigua* was yet in current use.

Again, the idea changes, and with it, words from other roots come in, thus: lightning, in Bri-bri is *ara we'-nga*, "the thunder flashes;" the

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Tiribi *shgu-ring'* and the Terraba *shu-ring'*, seem to be specific; but the Cabecar, *kong-so-hor'-ka* is "the atmosphere burns," while the Brunka *jî'-kra* is simply "fire." 197

Like the two or three cases of imperfect plural in Bri-bri, already mentioned, the Terraba has a single plural word; or rather only an approach, a sort of transitional form. *Zhgring* is a rib, and *zhgring'-ro*, the ribs in their collective sense, rather as the bony case of the thorax, than as the several bones

As stated above, the compound words in the vocabulary of Bri-bri are divided by a + sign between the component parts. In the other languages, there are doubtless many that have not been properly separated, because I have not ventured to make theoretical divisions, and have only separated those that were obviously compound. My less perfect acquaintance with them has not warranted me in this step, nor in the probably unnecessary detail of analysis to which I have subjected the language of Bri-bri.

In Terraba the 3d person, singular, pronoun *kwo*, while not varying for gender or number, has three forms which always appear according to a peculiar condition, thus:

he, she, (sitting or lying down)	so'-kwo.
" " (standing)	shon'-kwo.
" " (going)	hor-shon-kwo'.

In Brunka, I, thou, he, (or she) and we, (*a-dë-bi'*, &c.,) are used with the termination *dë-bi'* whenever they occur alone. When combined with other words in a sentence, the first syllable only (*a*, *bu*, *i*, and *ju*) is used. The termination is almost an integral part of the word and must be used when alone. This is the reverse of the termination *re* in Bri-bri, which is rarely used except in a sentence, and then only for euphony or emphasis, and at the option of the speaker.

Chapter III.

Vocabulary of the language of the Bri-bri Indians.

[Note.—In this, and in the accompanying vocabularies, the vowels have the same sounds as in Spanish, unless marked with a special sign; *ë* is pronounced as in English *met*; *i* as in *pin*; *ü* as in *mum*. *J* has the sound as in *John*; *ng* as in *thing*; *ñ* like the French nasal *n*; *kh* like *ch* in the German *ich*; *h* is aspirated as in English. A few words having unusual vowel sounds are noted separately, not to add unnecessary complication of conventional signs; like *si-ü'*, blue and *ku-ku'*, ear. 104 128 194

Compound words are written with a + sign between the component parts. Accent is of great importance, the change in position of the ac-

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COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE CABECAR, TIRIBI, AND TERRABA LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN COSTA RICA.

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.*	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruu-ka (called by the Spaniards Boruca).
to ache				ban	sa-o-ra
to adhere				to-mok′	
afraid	su-wa′-na	———	ban-kret′	ko-ban-kret′	kong′-li
afterwards				dun′-i-ha	ne-ayi′
again	i-ahu′-ne	aka-ahu′	roz-o′-bi	o-ro-roi	e′-je
against				krũ-boi′	
ahead			zhug′+ung		
to aim				doz′-ung	
air	kong+shan-ka	kong+shung	kok′+zeng	kong-moeh′-ko	
alike				lin-ko-yos′-o-sa	do-she-ri′
alive	kai	———	si	se	
all	be′-na	———	pir′-kru	tue′	o-ge′
alligator	do-rok′	———	ku	———	ku′-u
alone	e′-kra-bu	e′-kra-i	tok′-sa	———	i-le-ahi′
alongside	kot-ke′-mi	———	a-sor-go′		
also				no′-ma	mo-reng′-li
angry				yir′-ke	dre-ha′-lan
ankle	wir-in′-a-kru	———	ton′-kwo	ko-gi-o′	
ant	kaa′+wak	———	sum′-gwo	sou′-gwo	jak
anteater (large)	ur-l′	———	shu-go′	———	

* To avoid unnecessary repetition, where the same word occurs in the two dialects of Cabecar, or is the same in the Tiribi and Terraba, a ——— only is used.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Boruca. (Gabb.)	[Aug. 28, 1876.
anteater (small)	su'-se-ra	———		yir'-ke		
any	i-kus'-sa	———		or-og'-o-dok	ju-re'	
to arise	u-ra'	———	ork'-wo			
arm	sri'-aka	———	o'-tong	———	tun-kas'-a	
to arrive	u-ka'-wũ	———	su-re'	prun'-sho	brung	
arrow	mnu'-tu	———	prun'-shuk		tek-shik'	
ashes	i-cha-gu'	i-cha-gu'	kag-ra-koz'+ung	tia (Spanish)		
to ask	wai'-bu	———	me'-d-bog-wo	pe-zhem'-e o		
aunt				———	ching-kwa'	
awake			kok-so'		a-du-ran'	
axe	shõ-be'	———	si-yek'	i-le'-kung	a-che'	
back	tsi-wõ'	———		so-oi'	sa-i-jen'	
small of back			oi'	———		
backwards	se-ru-l'	———	hru		bri'-dwa	
bad	ha-mĕ'-tu	———	kei+bing	blu+si'-gua	but-sa-she'	
bag	chi-mu'	———	kwor	———	krang'+kwas	
banana	wu'-ji-ka	———	kar'+kwo	kor'+kwo-ta	ko-kra	
bare	kar'+kwo	———	h-nu'	———	knih-tsi'	
bark (of tree)	ku	———	i-gur'-gwo	i-gur'		
basket	d-kur'	———	we	———		
bat	bo-ku'	———		la-go'		
to bathe			o'-bri	o'-bri-kro		
beach	sa-wa-wu'	sa-wi'-wa	sin'-wa+ko-wo	———	ka-sa	
bead	i-ka	———				
beak of bird	du+ka	———				

beard	kar′-gu	———	song	———	olh′-tsi
beast	bi	———	no generic word	no generic word	
bed	kă-pu′-gru	kong	bu′-kru	bu-kru′ i-ong′	
bee	bur+wak	———	or	———	
before	mi-ga′-cho	———	bom′-gung	———	a-wah′-i-gi
behind	hŏ-ta′+ha-mi	———	ir′-ung		ku′-a
belly	nya′+wi	———	be-wo′	———	
below				tush′-ko	
belt				kro-ten′-za	suamp′-ka
bench	kru′-wa	———	kruk	kru	te′-kra
better	boe′-si	———	kob′+ko	kob′-i	
between	shas′-ka	shus′-ka	jig′-rai	zig′-ro	
bird	du	———	sin′-wa	sen′-o-wa	du-tsut′
to bite	i-gu-tu′	———	tun-ez′+ung	we′-a	tu′-li
bitter	b-chin′-a	———	kak-teng′		
black	do-ro′-na	———	zi	sok′-si-ĕ	tu-li-nut′
blade				drung′-wa	
blind				bo-kwoi-zhem′	tu-ĕt′
blood	pi	———		zring	ji-bi′
to blow	wu′-kwa	———	bu-kwaz′+ong	ba-kwoz -ung	i-bu-hu-gran′
blow-gun	mok′-kur	———	mok′-ru		
blue	siu	———	ding-ding′-eh	ding-ding′-ĕh	wa-a-gat′
blunt	kai+bu-rin′-a-wa	———	beg-jim′-ĕ		
body	wa′-ki	wa-go′	i-do′	i-dob′	
bold	I-han′-ĕ	———			
bone	di-cha′	———	d-bo′-gro	———	det-kra′
both	bor+ki′	———			

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bras-ka.
bow	u-ka′+bē-ta	———			
boy	ber+je′	har-a′	'du-met′+wa	kwa-si,′	jas-rok
branch (of tree)	kar′+u-ra	———	kor′+ko-wo		
to break	i-pan-o′-wa	———	toz′-ung		
breast	her′+bē-ta	———	wor-bu′	———	bi-dran′
breast (of woman)	tsu	———	nok′-a	nok′-o	i-ka′
breech-cloth	ki-par′-wo	———	shwong+kin′-go	shwong-king′	
bright	d-ra′-na	kan-yi-na′	kro′-zhing	———	
to bring	tsum′-be-ta	———	tek+suz′+ong		
bread				ba-ni-on′-se	
broom				shto-ko′-kra	
brother	ser′-a	ja-mi′	shi		
brother-in-law	shoo-wa	———	'bau′	———	
bug	*nya′-hru	———	*guk′-sha		
bundle				pfon-u′	
to bury	i-tu-bi-u′-wa	———	puoz′-ong	pfrou′-se	
bush	kar+tsi′-lash-tu	———			
bush dog†	rob-gu′	———		o-ru-bu-gu′	
butterfly	kwa	———	kwong′-wo	———	kwash′-ka
to buy				tun-ez′-ung	
cacao	tsi-ru′	———	kau	ko	kso
calabash	d-ka′	———	yi-guk′	———	jun′-kra
cane (sugar)	pash-tu′	———	se-ror′+bo	———	bah+je-ra′

* These words are probably specific. The genius of this group of languages is not to have generic words like bug, beast, palm, &c.; though there are some exceptions, like bird, butterfly, &c.

† For the technical names of these animals, see the Bri-bri vocabulary.

cane (river)	u-ka′-gru	u-kwa′-gru	se-ror′+gro	s-ro′-gro	bah+kra′
canoe/house				sū-ru′	
to carry	tsum′-mi	———	hek+sus′+ong		
cataract				her-pig′-te	
catarrh	to	———	tau′		
to catch				shar′-ung	
to cheat	i-hag′-bra	i-kon′-ju-wa	yab-goz′+ung	———	
cheek	hog-o-tu′	———	kwog′-do	kwog′-ro	pshu-grau′
chicha	bro	———	o	———	ji-wo′
chief	bo-ru′	———	pu-ru′	———	
child	jo-ba′	jo-ba-ra′	wa	afg′-wa	
chin	ska′-jua	———	o-ro′	———	kaha′-di
to chop	i-bi-ku′-hū	———		zog′-ung	
clean	ma-nen-ai′-re	man-em-en-e′		krung′-zo	trut′-ka
cloth (cotton)	sa-wa′+ba-gua	sa-wa′	shkwe′+shwong	shkwe′+bor-shwong	
" (bark)	dū-tai′	———	keb′+kwo	———	
cloud	mo	———	pong	———	bok
coal (of fire)	ji-ko′+wa	ji-ko+wo′	yuk+kur′-kwa	kur′-gra	
cold	tse′-na	———	smo	sa-mo′	tas′
color	ia-wa-kir′		kro-zher′-ba		
comb		i-sī-wa-gir′		kun′-chi	kash
come	hi′-ga	———	pa-teg′-ūn	———	
to complete				ton-oi′	
coon	si-rak′	———		si-luk	
corn (maize)	i-kwo′	———	ep	———	kup
corpse	i-shen-a′-wa	shin′-a-wa	shin′-mo	———	
cotton	su-wi′+ji-ku	———	shkwi	shwke′-sho	

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
cough	to	———	tau	———	
to cough	kor'-har	kor'-her	shtens'+ung		
to count	kansh'-ta-wa	———	kok-shtos'+ung		
country*	kong	———	kok	kosh'-ko	kak
cousin	ta-ra'	———	shtob		
to cover	i-ki'-tu-wa	———	kim-yoz'-ong	kin-yoz'-ung	
crab	ju-wi'	———	ye-beg'-wo	———	
crazy	ri-ua'-ka	———	skwĕ	———	
to cry	mi-o'	———	so-loi'-wi		
to cut	i-tu'	———	zoz'-ung	———	tza-a-ran'
to dance	b-klu+tu'	———	zron	———	kwi-gri'
dark	stu-i'-na	———			
daughter	ba'+bu-si	———	wa'+wa-re	———	
day	kan-yi-na'	kan-yi-na'-wa	d-ba'	da-boi'	kak'+a-ba-ra
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	eha
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bon'-a-ga	sek
day (after to-morrow)	boi-ki'	———	kun-ma'	kur+ma'	bwek
third day future				mi-an+ma'	mang-ek'
fourth day future				kin+ma'	
fifth day future				shkin+ma'	
yesterday	jŏ-ki	———	kub'-kĕ	kub-kesh'-ko	bi-ik'
day (before yesterday)	bo-ri'	bo-kri'	pong-wo'	pong-wosh'-ko	ki-bi+buk'
dead	dŭ-wa'-wa	———	ke-tong'	———	kokht'-ka
deep (water)	di-kru+tyng'-ru	di-kru+tyng'-bru	i-rong'		
deer (large)	mno-dŭ-bi'	———	prun'-mi	shu-ring'	su-tu-rik'

* In the same wide sense as in Bri-bri.

deer (small)	do-ē′	———	shu-ring′	shu-ring′+ma		beāh
to depart				to′-to		
devil	bi	———	su	auh		kag-bru′
dew	mo′+ri-u	———	tom-bor′-ia			
to die			ba-ke′-to			
different	hau′-ri	———	o′-bri	ba-bok′-so		bu-i-shi′
to dig	i-biu′-ga	———	kor′+ung			
direction	wo′-mo	———	jou′-re	yow′-re		
dirt	i′-shku	———	wri-wri′-a			
to dive	b-taat-ku′	———				
doctor	ha-wa′	———	i-bi′	———		
dog				shi′-ti		aubh
to drink	i-ju′	———	i-oz′-ong	———		i-jang′
drop	i-wo′+riu	———	si-ra′			
drum	sū-bak′	———	shung	———		
dry	si′-na	———	i-dog′-i-do	i-dog-roi′		tsen′-ka
dust						ta-brung
eagle	sar′+po	———	do+pung′	———		
ear	sgo-ku′	kwush′-ki	kwong′-wo	kwong′-wa		kwa′-ga
early				ko-o-bi′-ta		
earth (soil)	hi′-shuk	hi′-shku	krung	krung′-sho		tap
earthquake	i	———	yo	yo-yan′		
to eat	jō-ka′-gri	jō-ku′	i-o′	———		ja-ā-de′
eddy	di+ha-ra-mi′	di′+men-e	bi-rung′	pō-rung′		
egg	i-si′-a	———	sen′-wa+wa	———		kup
either	mō-ne′	———				
elbow	u-ra+o′-gu-chi	———				chuāh-che′-wi

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
empty	wu'ji-ka	———	i-ro-ri'	i-ro-re'	
end	i-bĕ-ta'	———	kok+shur'-bo		
ended				fir'-kru	
enemy	sĕ-na-ma'-ru	bor-gi'	mor-i-mos'-kwo		
enough	wir'-u	er-u'	kwont'-sol	i-ont'-so	
evening	taa'-na	taan'-li	kok+sing'-ĕ	———	
every	ben'-a	se-hen'	pir'-gru		
eye	wo'-bra	———	bok'-wa	———	kal'-ish
face	wo'	———	bok-wol'	bok-wo'	kal'-ish
to fall	i-han'-a	i-han-a-te'	ro-noi'	bo-go-nof'	tru-ŭ-lĭn'
family	jai'-wa	———	pei'-ga	wai-you'-sa	
far	ka-mi'-mi	———	krong'-e	fo-lai'	ka-wi-gri'
father	i-ji'	ji	kok	———	je-bet
father-in-law	dŭ-bai'	———	ke'-gi	———	
fat (grease)	or'-i	ur	kio'-yo	———	i-bu'
" (animal)				sho-shoi'	
fear				ko-ban-kret'	
feather	i'-ku'	———	kor'-ga	———	ka
to feel	pa-su'	———			
female					i-ra-matk'
fever	kro-na-bi-te'	———	b-gun'	swo-ro'	che
few					ble-a'-dri
to fight	nyak+pu	———	ing'-kwi	i-no-kwe'	
finger	u-ra'+aku	———	sak-wo'	sak'-wo	ku'-akwa
fire	ji-ko'	———	yuk	———	ji'-kra
fire-fly			skon'-kwa	skon-kwa'	ki-na'

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Am.1

first	suk′-u-tu	———	bom′-gung	———	ung
fish	mi-ma′	———	ma′		
fish scale	ni-ma′+kwo	———	ma+sro′-kwa	ma+kwo′-ta	
flat	shpat′-ko	———	beg′-ō	———	
flea	d-ki′	———	kiung	———	chik
floor	har′-ka	bu+ha′	u+pkwe′-ru	u-i′-ro	
flower	kar+wus′-kwa	———	kor+i-a′-gru	kol′-ong	krang+sret
fly	shi′-bu	———	ji-wir′-wa	———	srung
fog	mo	———	pong	———	
to follow			ir′-gu		
food	jō-ku′	———	dli	———	
foot	kru+kwe′	———	shkor′-mo	shkon′-mo	kras′+kwa
forehead					wa-tush′
foreigner	jō-ku′-sū-wa	———	po-las′-o	fo-las′-o	
forest	kar′+ga	———	kor′+go-rui	krosh′-ko	
free			tok′-sai	———	
friend	her′-bui	———	pei	pfei	
frog	bur′-bi	———	ō-rung′.		
tree-frog	d-cha′-bu-kwi	bu-kwi′	knos	kro-wem′	
from			i-res′		
full	tū-ri′	———	tu′-nai	ta-bo-tu′-nai	kut-ka′-li
to gather	nya′-ska	———	sha-ras′-o		
ghost					i-wik′
girl	bu-si′*	a-la-bu-si′	wa+wa-re′	———	i-ra-matk′
	je-ba′*	———			
to give	i-mak′	———	twoz′+ung		
glad			wo-ko′bi		

* Same distinction of age as in Bri-bri

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tirbi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
to gnaw			po-we'-a		
to go	shku	———	pan-o'-ma		si'-büh
God	si-bu'	———	zi-bo'	zü-bo'	
				kob'-soi	mo-reng'-ri
good	boe'	boi'	kob'-e	kob'-é	
grandfather	ta'-chi	———	bog-un'	———	
grandmother	ho-jé-ku'	———	ter	———	
grass	ta'-tsik	———	jit-sho	kro'-sho	
green	spa	spa-na	ke-song'	ke-song'-é	
to grind			zguiz'+ung	a-we'	
to grow			kun	———	
guatuso				shka-re'	chesht
gun	mok'-kur	———	krik	———	bot
hair	to-kung-gu'	———	kog'-un	kong'-un	sish'-ka
" of body				so	shi
half	mos'-ka	———	wen-som'	wor-bish'-ko	fib-ta'
to hallo	m-han-o	———			
hammock	ki-pu'	———	po'-gro		kung
hand	u-ra'	———	ork'-wo	———	ju-re'
back of hand	u-ra'+shi-bi	———	ork-wo+king'		
palm of hand	u-ra+ktu'	———	ork-wo+kwo'-broi		
handle	i'-ka-ta	———	krong	ba-sor'-ko	
to hang	i-kar'-mi	———	priz'-kom-o		
hard	d-re'-re	———	kong'-ko	kang'-kwe	
to have	krir	———			
hawk	pung	———	u-re'+pung	pung	sung

he	hé	———	we	kwe	i+a-bi′
head	dzĕ-kung	———	kog′-o	———	m-gra′
head of tree	kar′+a-ra	———	kor′+de-wol-rung		
to hear	kis′-ka	———	kuz′+ung	ko-kuz′-ung	
heart					kwi-sĭh
heat	ba	bar	bol-o′	kli-kli′-a	ji+ong′
to help			kim-toz′+ung		
here	is′-ka	———	husk′-ko	ir-ish′-ko	we-eh′
high	hu-i′-ne	kong+shu′-ki	kok′+shko	kok+shko′-i	aĭht-kar-e′
hill	kong+tsu′	———	drub	———	kak-tuĭht′
to hold	i-kru′-ku	i-kru′	shaz′+ung		
hollow	har	———			
honey	bur	———	or	or′+di-o	but+cha
horn	i-du-ra′	———	su		
house	hu	———	u	———	uh
how	m-ne′-kĕ-pi	———	so′-je-ra	zhi′-ri-a	
husband	(hĕ+)ji′-ji	———	(bor+)do-met′	(bor+)do-bea′	
hunger	bĕ-chi′-na-te	ka′-gre	pli′-do	———	
I	jis	———	ta		a+da-bi′
idle	bi-ki	———	pag-je′-me		
iguana	bo′-a	ba	wong	fwang	ă-lit′
inside	hi′-na	———	ir′-or-e	ir-osh′-ko	
intestine	nya	———	jang′-ko-gru	zhang	su-a′
iron	ta-be′-ri+ji-ka	ta-be′+ji-ka			
jar	hung	ung	zbi	———	
jaw	kab-sha′	———	o-ro′	———	
jigger	d-ki′+tain-la	———	kiung′-wo	———	
juice	i-diu′	———	di-o′	———	cha

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba	Brun-ka.
just			so-kob′-so		
knee	k-chu′-wu	———	ko-kwo′	ku-wā′	
knife	ta-be′-ri+je-ba	———	su-gro′	drun̄g	man-kra′
knot	i-wo′-moa	———	ki-bosh′-kwe	———	
to know	hu-nyer′	che-mi′	mi-dep	mi-der′-a	
language	suk-tu′	———			
large	kū-bi+bri-wi′	———	tn-e′	kwon-e′	
very large			kiz-bong′-ē		
last	shin′-a-wa	———	jam-o′		ok-sha-re′
late	ka-mas′-kra	taan′-li	kok+sing′-e	———	
to laugh	m-han-ya′	———	har		
lazy	bi-ki	———	pag-ji-me	kar-a-gun̄g′-e	king′-shu
leaf (of tree)	kar+gu′	———	kar+kor′-gu	kor-o′-ga	krang′+ka
" (broad)	sik	———		zor′-go	
lean	j-kai′-bū				
to leave			ber-i-oz+ung		
left hand	shu-rē′	———	mir′-e	———	
leg	kru+kra-be	———		kwos-bo	
lemon	ash′-ua	———	I-gen-moh′		
to lend	pel′-te	———	poz-kwoz′+ung	———	
level	shpat′-ke	———			
to lie	b-kan-ju′-wa	———	nyor′-ke	———	ka-tu-a-ri
to lie down	m-he-bē-kru-wa	———	tush′-ko	bu+tush′-ko	ja-ung
lid	i-kush′-tu-gru	———	bong-za′-kru		
to lift	I-bē-tsu′-kn	———	po-yo′-zu	po-yon̄g′-zo	
lightning	kong+wo+hor′-kn	———	zhgu-ring′	zhu-ring′	ji′-kra

lips	ko′-kwu	_____	kap′-kwo	_____		
to listen	i-ken-su′	_____	kuz′+ong	ko-kuz′-ung		
little	tsi′-nĕ-kra	_____	ti′-ra	so-ti′-ra	i-sta-mu′-ra	
liver	ber	_____	wŏ	wo	kok	
long	kar-kwe′	b-tai′		bu		
to look	sŭ-wa′	i-sung′	i-zung′		wa-izb′-da	
to loose	i-kuk′+tu-wa	_____	kŏngz′+ung			
to lose	i-kit′-sen-a	_____	hen-oi′	_____	a-ring′-ra	
louse	kung	_____	_____	_____		
lump	wo-wut-ser-e′	_____	zo-i-ring′	kwo-i-ring′-soi		
lungs	jo	_____				
macaw (green)	kwa+si-an′-e	pa	yĕ-mos′+kwong	_____		
" (red)	kwa+mat′-ka	ku-kwa′	kus′+kwong	kish′-kwong		
maggot	d-chun′-ya		shto′	_____		
to make	i-jo-wŭ′		she-ri-oz′+ung	sho-ri-oz′-ung		
male					kong+ad′ra	
man	hĕ-ji-ji′	wi′-pa	dŭ-met′	do-ben′	kong+roh′	
many	o-ru-i′	_____	et′-o	yon′-soi	et-sush-ta′-ri	
how many?					bi-ik′	
mark			i-ya′			
marsh	do-ri′	_____	krung′-sho	_____		
meat	jĕ-ku′+gru	jĕ-ke′	sing	dŭ-li	i-u-ran	
medicine	buk′-pu-ri	k-pu′-li	du-re′	_____		
to mend	i-wo-yŭ′	_____	yĕ-woz′+ung			
middle	shas′-ka	shus′-ka	wor-be′	wor-be′-shko′	ish′-ta	
midnight	nĕ-nye′	kong+shong-shong′	kog-rong′-ŏ	ko-i-rong′-i	kag+ish-ta	
milk	tsu′+diu	_____	nau′+ri-o	_____	tur-i-ka′	

1873. 591 Gabb.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruu-ka.
mine				to-nya′	a-rek′
monkey (red)	sar+mat′-ka	———	du′-i+go	do	nofg
" (howler)	d-ka′	———	bib′+go	bib	u′-li
" (white face)	kuk	———	yal′+go	———	ek
month				mok+ra-ra′	
moon	to-ru′	tu-ru′	mok	mok	tó-be′
more	i-ki′	———	o′-bi	———	
morning	si-syi′-ra	———	kok+shrung′-to	kok+shrung′	
mosquito	di-kri′	———	kwis′-king	kwis′-kwing	srun-sit
mother	mi	———	meh	———	be′-bi
mother-in-law	jak	———	aim	———	
mouse					kwi
mouth	ko′-kwa	ku′-a	kam′-o	———	kas′-a
mouth of river				di+sor′-go	
much	bi-ku′	———	et′-o	yon′-so	
mud	do′-ri	do′+ji-ka			so′-ra
nail (finger)	u-ra+sku+sho′-kwa	———	suk-wo+drung′-yo	———	drig′-i
narrow	si-ma′-na	———	pro-tir′-a	———	ku-ba′-dri
navel	mo′+wo	———	tu′-wa	tu′-wofg	
near	ko-ku′-na	———	sosh′-ku	———	ek-chish′-ĕ
neck	ku-ri′+ki-cha	———	kring′-duk	———	ing-a′
necklace	ku-ri′	———	bra		
night	né-nye′	———	shka	———	big-at′
nipple					ka
no	kai	———	je′-mĕ	zho′-mi	
noise	ko′-ju-gĕ	———	tu-t-et′-o	i-rong-ko′	kuhh′-ka

						1876
					kag+i-bukh'-ta	
nose	mo'-ki	———	dlo-drub		kuhin'-ka	
nose	jik	———	ne'-kwo	———		
not	kai	———	zham'-ko	zhe'-mi		
now	hir	———	er'-i	———	cha	
numerals						
1	et'-ku	———	kra-ra'	kra'-ra	et-sik	
2	bot'-ku	———	pug'-da	kra'-bu	bug	
3	m-nyar'	m-nyat'-ka	mya'-re	kra-mi-a'	mang	
4	kier	kil	p-kegu'-de	kra-bū-king'	baih'-kan	
5	sker'a	———	shkegu'-de	kra-shking'	kihi-ekan'	
6	ter'-lu	———	ter'-de	kra-ter'	teah'-an	
7	kul	———	kog'-ū-de	kra-kok'	kushk	
8	pagl	———	kwog'-ū-de	kra-kwong'	oih-tan	
9	te-ner'-lu	———	shkow'-ū-de	kra-shkap'		
10	d-bom'	———	dwow'-ū-de	kra-ra-wab'		
11	d-bom+et'+ku	———	king-shu+kra'	king-sho+kra'-ra		
12	d-bom+bot'+ku	———	king-shu+pok'	king-sho+kra-bu'		
13			king-shu+mya'	king-sho+kra-mi-a'		
14			king-shu+p-kegu'	king-sho+kra-bū-king'		
20			dwow-ū+pug'-da	sag+puk'		
30				sag+mi-a'		
oil	ki-u'	———	ki-o'	———		
old (thing)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	ke-ge'	zan-fe'	so-gro'	
" (person)	i-ken'-a-wa	———	yi-no+ke-ge'	zan-fe'		
on			hong	é-li'		
once				fra-ra'-sei		
other					e'-je	

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Costa River.	Tribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
otter	dĭ'-bu-a	———	won-yuk'	wan-yŭ'	
our			shi'-ya		
out	i-we'-ten-ŭ-wa	shi-bi'-ga	kok'+su	hu'-ga	
outside	wi'-tu-ki	———	kok'+sur-e	hu'-ga	
over	king'-ga	———	kin'-go		
to owe			toi		
package	dŭ-li'	———	shwong'+i-do	d-bok'-tan	ets-ong'
pain	di-ka'	di-li'-na	du-re'	ban	sa-o-ra
peccary (wary)	sir-bi'	———	shi-ri'	———	kra-mi-shuk
" (small sp.)	kas'-ri	kas-i-ri'	shtuk'-o	———	si-ni'
piece	i-wu-ku'	i-wu'-gi-tu	ba-ja-mo'	bo-kwa-ra'	
pile	i-dŭ-pan'-a	———	drub-par'-a		
to pinch	i-bĕ-tsu'	———	shoz-goz'+ung	———	
pine-apple	ka-ru-ru'-bui	ha-mu'-wa	pong'-wa	———	bwat
plantain	kru-bi'	———	i-bing'	———	mwa
point	i-bĕ-ta'	———	d-woi-rung'	d-bor-ong'	i-dru'
pot	ta-be'+wi	ta-be'+ung	droz'-bi		kwa-le'
precipice	hak+en'-a	———	i-geng'	{i-geng' skin	
priest	ksu'-gru	———	tang'ra		
to pull	si-ku'	si-gu'	shiz'+ung	———	
to push	i-nya'-tu-wa	pat-ku'-ju-mi	poz-rez'+ung	———	
quarter	i-ju-wa'	———	ba-bog'-yu	bob-wo-king'-de	
quick	ho-ru'-si	———	mal-iah'-tĕ	mal-e'	do-do'
quiet	kai-wa-shu'-ya	———	king'-e		
rain	kan+i'	———	shu-nyo'	shu-nyong'-wa	jo

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rainbow	shko-ba′	———	dŭn		talh-ka	
raw						
ready	bi-ka′	b-tsi′	ta-pid′-zung			
red	mat′-ka	———	sri-zriñ′	kro-sri-zri-ren′-e	krú-bat′	
reddish	b-tse′-na	———		sri-ren		
region	sar′-as	kin	kosh′-ko	———		
to rest	he-ru′	———	wosh′-ti	wosh′-to		
to return	ru′-mi	bra′-ni		zwor′-kwos-ung		
rib				zhgring		
ribs	pre′	———	sheng′-ro	zhgring′-ro (special plur.)		
right hand	mo′-ki	———	kil-e′			
ripe	uri′-ru	———	kwi	———	brot-ka′-li	
to rise	ku′-ka	———	shwo′-zu*	———*		
river	di-kru+e-na	di-kru+tyng′	di-kes′	———	di+kak′	
road	nya′-ra	———	ir′-o-bo	———	neñg-kra	
roof	hu′+tsang	———	ur+bo	———		
roots of tree	kar′+gi-cha	———	kor′+su-wo	kor+sreng′	kahas	
rope	ksa	———	kyuñg			
rough	pa-nen′-e-ir-u	pa-nen′-e	ŏ-nos′-teng			
round	bri′-na		ki-ring′-ĕ		phi-gi-dat	
to run	b-ton-o′	bi-ton′-u-mi	ti-ti-ĕh′	———		
sad				woi′-di		
saliva	kus′-kwa	———	trung	———		
salt	dĕ-ji′	———	drung	———	ki	
sand	kson̄g	———	ĕra-sho′	———	up	
sap	i-di-kli′	kar′+diu	kor′+di-o	———		
to say	i-shu′	———	o-ros′	tre		

* Imperative singular.

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English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruka.
fish-scale	ni-ma′+kwo	———	ma+zre′-kwa	ma+kwo′-ta	
to scatter	sho-ti-a-wa-mi	tu-ru-mi′	zhdur′+ung	———	
scorpion	bi-che′	———	di-ye′	———	
to scratch	hen-biu′	biu	zhgur′+ung	drung′+shko	ki
sea	dŏ-je′	———	drung	———	
to see	sŭ-wa′	———			
seed	kar+wa′	———	kor′+kwo-wo	i-ti e′-ba	
to send			i′-ri-os	zez′-ung	
to sew				zen′-te	ka-wik′
shadow	wig′-ra	———	ya′-gro	———	
to shake	i-wuk-bu′	———	yor′-ung	———	
shallow	pre′-na	pre′-rĕ	ir-o-ti′-ra		
sharp	i-wu-ku′	a-ka′+ta	su-ret-eng′	{(edge) peg-you′-soi (point) su-ret-eng′-e	
she	he	———	we	kwe	
shell (bivalve)	su-ri′	———	{wu-rir′-kwo shung	(murex) flin′-kwa dŭ-ram′-kwa	
shield	so′-gru	———	sob′-kwo		
skin	kra-be′	———	shkon′-gro		
to shoot	i-tiu′	———	io-roz′-ong	———	
short			kwo-tir′-a	———	
shoulder	ko′-ka	———	d-wob′-dok		
shrimp	sok	———	kuz′-gwo	———	
sick	kri-na′-wa	———	sur-o-eh′	sur-o′	che-at′
similar	he′-kŏ-pi	———	en′-i-yŭ	sog-bsk-teng′-e	i-dosh-ŏ-re′
to sing	bk-su′	———	toz′-ung	———	

to sink	i-wo-tun-a	———	pis′+ung		
sister	ko-ta′	———	dor	———	
sister-in-law	abdo-bu′	———	kak	———	
skin	kwo	———	kwo′-ta	———	kwas-kwa′
woman's skirt	ba′-na	———	shwom′+sring		
skull	tsu-ko+du-chi′	dze-kung+du-chi′	ka′-dro-a	kog-wo′+dū-bo	
sky	du-ra′-bru	———	kob′-kwo	kom-ong′	
to sleep	sku-ri′-na	i-skwu′	poz′-ung	———	kap
sloth (brown)	si-na′-si	———	sho-rong′	———	
" (gray)	se′-ri-a	———	ki-a′	———	
" (little)	di-klu′-ji-ba	———	suz-bo′	———	
slow	hen′-a	———	wor′-a	———	ŭ-wa-ta′
small	tsi′-nē-kra	———	ti′-ra	so-tir′-a-wa	i-sta-mu′-ra
to smell	ha-rar′-ge	———	i-ro′-shis		
smoke	shkon-ē′	shkon-o′	nyo′	———	ji-l-ja′
smooth	jes′-na	je	tu-it′		
snail	*bu-ri	———	*pu-le′+na-kwa	shku′-ra-kwo	
" shell	*jok′-sē-ro	———	*i-wi′-bru	du′-kwa	
snake	kē-bl′	———	b-gur′	———	ta-bek′
to sneeze	taer′-gē	———	shor-ke′		
soft	do-ru′-na	———			
sole of foot	kru+ptu′	———	shkon′-kwo	ku-kwo′-woi-ro	kras-kwa+plang
solid			kong′-o		
son	jē-ba′	———	wa	———	
sour	shkun′-a	———	shpo-et′-o	shpo-yon′-soi	
spider	si-s′-mu-nya	———	ting		
to spit	kar-i′	———	trung+woz′+ung	trung+twoz′-ung	

* Probably special names of *Helix Bulimus*, *Melania*, &c., as in Bri-bri dialect, *kwa*, in Tiribi evidently means shell.

192x
197

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Bruka.
spleen	ko-u′	tak	wong	———	num
to spread			kwob-toz′+ung		
spy	ju-jet′-kuk	———	prob′-a		
to stand	her-wu′	———	jon′-ke	zhong-zhong′-ke	
star	kong+wu′	———	d-bar-bo′	d-be-ra′-kwo	um′-ra
to steal	hog′-bru	———	ru-kez′+ung	rur′-ke	a-jang′-li
stick	kar	———	kor′+lo	———	krang
to sting	m-her′	ka′-wa	ta-wa′-ru	shor-ke′-so	
to stink	sa-ru-i+ha-rar′	su-ru-i+hrar′-ge	o-no′-et-o	o-no-oi′	
stone	hak	———	ak	———	kang
stool	krũ-wa′	———	kruk	kru	
stop	ẽ-re′-re	he-re-re′	ko-shoz′+ũ	———	
straight	mog-i′	———	i′-teng	kro-bek′-oi	dn-u′-ka
to strike	it-pu′	———	i-ruz′+ong	sphoz′-ung	
strong	d-re′-re	———	d-bo-e′-to	kang′-ku-i	a-du-ru-re′
sugar	pash-tu′+chi-ka	———	jir′-bo-sho	sror′-bo-sho	
sun	di	di′-we	do-ro′	———	kak
sure			zog′-u-de		
to swallow			d-kwoz′+ung	d-woz′-ung	
to sweat	pa-re′-na	———	sho′-ri-a	sho-ri′-na	
sweet	bro′-na	bro	pre′-bre	———	
to swim	bo-wo-ku′	bo-kwu′	ah-weh′	we	a-bu′-ũ-li
tall	i-m-nek′	———	proc	frac	kwan-tsa′
to take	i-tsa′-mi	i-tsu′-mi	kroz′+ung	———	
to talk	bk-tu′	———	tnoz′+ung	———	
tall	b-tsi-br-wi	———	kok+shko′	———	

192x
197

tapir	na'-i	———	so	———	na-i'
to taste	tsong-sir'	———	kuz'+ong		
teeth	ka	———	ko-wo'	———	kas'-a
" (molars)		ka+nyuk	ap	———	kam'i
to tell	i-shu'	———	ir-o-tos'		
then	he-re'-re	he'-re'-re	en'-i	er'-a-ga	
there	wa-ji'-ga	di-ya'	kem'-nŏ	kim'-rish-ko	
they	he'-wa	ye	kweb'-ga	eb'-ga	i-roihk
thick	kro-na-bi-ti'	hu-re'			
thief	hak	hak-bru'-gi			
thigh	tu-bru	———	kwor'-wo		
to think	her-wik'	———	wo-tniz'+ung	woi'-du	
thirst	her-ba'-na	her-si'	baum'-gung		
thorn					kwa
thou	ba	———	pa	fa	ba+a-bi'
throat				beng'-so	
to throw	i-hu-wa-mi'	i-tu'	d-buz'+ung	———	
thumb	u-ra+sku+in'-ga	———	sak-wo+kes'-yu	sak-wo+kes'-i	
thunder	hŭ-ra'	s'-ra	krik	———	kak'+an-te-gra
tick	ban'-o-wa	kas'-o-wa	tri'-gua		
to tickle	gi-pa'	———	yi-gru-woz'+ung		
to tie	i-mo'-a	———	kro-di-oz'-ung	kro-tenz'-ung	
tiger (spotted)	na-ma+kro'-na	———	d-kro+tong	d-bong+tan-tan'-e	ku-ra'
" (black)	na-ma+do-ro'-na	———	kro+zi'-a	d-bong+kro-si'-a	
" (red)	na-ma+mat'-ka	———	kro+sri-zrin'	shu-ring+d-bong'	
time (future)	ma-nya-ni'	nya-nya+si-nye'-ta	pŏs-ir'-e	dc-nash'-ko	

192 x 197.

192x 197

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
time (past)	ba-ha'-si	nya-nya'	den-ai'	po-nyash'-ko	
tired	hĕ-rŏ-be'-na	———	sen-oi'	———	j-ro'-sha-ra
toad			krok	kro'-we	kshuk
tobacco	dŭ-wa'	———	do-wo'	———	du-a'
to-day	hir	———	er'-i	———	cha
toes	kras'-ku	———	sap'-kwo	———	
together	mya'-ra	———	hu'-nĕ	sha-ra'	
to-morrow	bu-ri'-ri	———	i-bong'	i-bou'-a-ga	sek
tongue	kok'-tu	kuk'-tu	kior'-kwo	ker'-kwo	kwat'-kwa
top of head	tsŭ-kung'+bĕ-ta	tsong'+bĕ-ta	kwa-dru-i-bo'		
tortoise	kwi	———	kwe	bog-o'	ba-eg'-ri
to touch	bŭ-rat-ku'	———	por-woz'+ung		
tree	kar	———	kor	———	krang
tribe	wag'+ŏ-ru	———	io-no'	———	
trunk of tree	kar	———	kor+i'-do		
to try	he-man'-i	———	tŭ-uit'		
to turn	men-e'-wa	———	wor-kwo'+zu		
twice					bug-ŭ-dak'
to twist			doz'+ung	zhu-iz'-ung	
ugly			so-o'-wa	———	
ulcer	shum-e'	———	zbing		
uncle	no-wa	naung	ke'-ga		
under	d-king'-ga	———	i-dor'-ko	tush'-ko	a-de'-bi
to understand	je-na-be'-ra	te-aa'	ku'-rob-dĕ	ko-kuz'-ong	
unripe			kro-pro-pru'-gi		
until			pe-si'-re		

valley	kong+d-choi′	———	ztomb	zdam	
vein	ham-e′	———			
vine	kaa	———	kij′-wo	———	san-kwa′
voice	har′-ke	———	krun		
to vomit	i-tu′-wa	———	yar-we′	ya′-two	
waist	ki-pa′	———			
to wait	kin-su′	———	ko-shoz′-ung	———	
to walk	i-shku′	———	hik	ik	
to want	ki-a-na′	———	woi-det′	———	
wasp	bu-kra′	———	wŭ-ro′	wo-rok′	srung-wa′
water	di-kru′	———	di	———	di
wax	har	bur′+i-nya	sot	on′-cham	but
we	sĕ-ha′	———		shing	ja-a-bi′
well	boe′	———			
wet	kis′-u	nun-a′-ga	puk-tong′-ĕ	pu-hu′-i	se-kar′
what	hi-ru′-in	er-hi′-i	kon-e-kro′-ti	zhe	
when	mi′-ga	———	jon′-wro	zhon′-wa	i′-ik
where					je
which	men-ĕ′	———	kon-e-de′		
to whisper	ka-kwa′	ji-kwa′	ba-tnez-wor′-a	kob′-wo+ba-kwoz-ung	kos′-wa
to whistle	ka-kun′-e	ka-kun′	b-ko′-ba-kwe		taish-kung
white	su-ru′-ru	———	plu-blun′	kru-ru′-ni	su-wat′
who	ji	———	i	e	di′-a
whole	har-e′-bu	kra-be′	kwo-hik′	i-don′-hi	
why					io′-ge
wide	shon′-a	shon	ba-met′-o	star′-e	wan-ka-li′
wife	(je+)ĕ-ra′-kra-wa	(je+)ĕ-ra′-kra	(bor+)iok′	(bor+)wa-re′	i-ra-rok′

192x
197

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192x
197

English.	Cabecar of Estrella River.	Cabecar of Coen River.	Tiribi.	Terraba.	Brun-ka.
wild	kar+ŭ-bu′	————	kro-hi′	————	shung
wind	si-wang	————	pruc	————	i-rä-matk′
woman	č-ra′-krä-wa	č-ra -kra	wa-re′	————	
worn	d-cho′-nya	————	chus′-kro	————	
worse	se-ru-i+si′	————			
to wring		diu′-tru	zhguiz′+ung		
wrist	wu′-gĕ-cha	————	ork-wo+dok′		
yellow	psi	————	shoin′-lot	shoi-raŋ′-i	sho-o-sat′
yes	hŭ′-ŭ	————	ing	————	u′-ge
yesterday	jĕ-ki	————	kub′-kŏ	kub-kesh′-ko	bi-ik
you	baa	be	ta-wa	fai-rung′-kwe	bi-roshk
your			poi	to-nya′	

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF COSTA RICA

By Alanson Skinner

INTRODUCTION

BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Telirí river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb[1] (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.[2]

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

101 also various tribes from the south and the
175 adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca.*[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magis-
648 trate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

101 361 [162] The two Bribri groups are to be found at Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*Ẓerí*) and amount to approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival [174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds 173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca 166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig- [614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time. [582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Gualys]

LANGUAGE

• 197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at [191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Gualys

[103] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz [797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709,
[797] which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[177] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

● 197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886, vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

184
●197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa [197] Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study,
104 indigenous terms are written in symbols which are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ʒis mą iʒə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

ą, ę, į, ǫ, ų, nasalized vowels.

[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.
[50] Schuller, 1928.
[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

L is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico [197] have a like consonant.

j is palatal and fricative.

r, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta.*

ts is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch*.

ʃ is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh*.

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch [192] produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example:

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dɔwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jɔwá* (medicine man)

low pitch: *du* (bird); *dɔwe* (sickness); *jɔwa* (otter)

(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 187 indicates), 1896.

[32] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.

[33] Pozas, N.D.

dance which was performed in a circle by men and women with one person singing but the whole group joining in the chorus. The song recounted the experiences during a hunt.

There are various dances held in connection with death and burial but they are seldom seen today outside of upper Talamanca.

Pittier[308] mentions a bone dance performed at the time of secondary burial by men if the deceased was an adult and by women if a child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer was carried out by a line of women and one of men. The person taking the place of the Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of the departed, and kept time with a gourd rattle. His four assistants in the line of men had drums under their arms which they beat as they danced.

A different bone dance which is a remnant of a war dance with trophy heads is occasionally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to celebrate. Men and women form a circle with interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is placed there. The men sing and the women join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning "good" or "well."

Songs. All sacred songs are basically Cabécar even though they may be sung in Bribri. The Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier sing these songs which are usually in ancient Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the sung language permits all sorts of liberties as well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[308] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594-95.

[309] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25-26.

[P. 86]

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THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikáswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikáswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikáswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikáswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*2*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikáswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *káswa*], dance [of *káswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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19. dikúswa

1. ɛ̨tsɨ́ kɥLɛ́,[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[204] patkɛ̨mɨ ɛ̨tsɨ́ kɥLɛ́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tɨ, sibu-tə dikúswa ichake, "šu-ruśwami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iɨ̨té, "ké bu-ruśkua. be-ɛ̨ə emɛ̨. ké be-ruśkwɨ̨ šɥtɛ̨.[205] (*2*) é-kuɛ̨gi sibu-tə dikúswa[206] meɛ̨t-oé buɨ̨únmeLe.

20. buLtakuLe[207]

1. kuɛ̨gɛ̨́[208] kuɛ̨geé jaɛ̨gɛ̨angɛ́[209] kuanjé jaɛ̨gɛ̨gɛ̨g.
kuanjé ɛ̨gɛ̨angɛ kuanjé.

2. ta-kuɛ̨,[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lɑn[212]-dí,
ta-soLaLa soLari,
ta-das-donchi.
jɛ́[213]-iberke ikuɛ̨ɨ́, jɛ́-iberke jɛ̨n.

3. kuanjejeé[214] jekua jéeé.

[755] [552] [778] [197] [172]

[201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness.
[202] *kɥLɛ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kɥLɛ́*.
[203] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.
[204] This also means "nothing."
[205] The connotation is that the bird, *dikáswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikáswa*.
[206] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[207] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[208] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[209] *ɛ-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[210] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle.
[211] *jí* and *jín* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *káswa*.
[212] These sounds signify adornments.
[213] I.e., that you are sick.
[214] *See* Theological Beliefs.